The PENNSYLVANIA [illegible]

Containing the Freſheſt Ad[illegible]ces, Foreign and

In CONGRESS, June 11, 1778.

A LETTER of the 9th from General Waſhington, incloſing a letter of the 8th to him from General Sir Henry Clinton, informing that the Earl of Carliſle, William Eden and Governor Johnſtone, three of the Commiſſioners for reſtoring peace between Great Britain and America, are arrived in Philadelphia, and requeſting a paſſport for Doctor Ferguſon, their Secretary, with a letter from them to Congreſs, and a copy of General Waſhington's anſwer, declining to grant a paſſport till the pleaſure of Congreſs is known, was read.

Ordered, That the ſame be referred to a Committee of three.

June 12.

The Committee to whom was referred the letter of the 9th from General Waſhington, with the papers incloſed, brought in a report, which was taken into conſideration, and, after debate,

Reſolved, That the farther conſideration thereof be poſtponed.

Saturday, June 13.

Congreſs reſumed the conſideration of the report of the Committee on the letter of the 9th from General Waſhington, with the papers enclоſed.

During the debate an expreſs arrived with a letter of the 11th from General Waſhington, which was read, and a packet, in which was enclоſed, together with other papers, a letter ſigned "Carliſle, William Eden, George Johnſtone," dated "Philadelphia, June 9, 1778," and directed "To his Excellency Henry Laurens, the Preſident, and other the Members of Congreſs." Which letter was read to the words "inſidious interpoſition of a power, which has, from the firſt ſettlement of theſe Colonies, been actuated with enmity to us both. And notwithſtanding the pretended date or preſent form of the French offers," incluſive; whereupon the reading was interrupted, and a motion was made not to proceed farther, becauſe of the offenſive language againſt his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty.

Debates ariſing thereon,

Ordered, That the conſideration of the motion be poſtponed. And Congreſs adjourned to 10 o'clock on Monday.

June 15, *P. M.*

Congreſs reſumed the conſideration of the motion reſpecting the letter from the Commiſſioners of the King of Great-Britain: After debate, adjourned to 10 o'clock to-morrow.

June 16.

Congreſs reſumed the conſideration of the motion reſpecting the letter from the Commiſſioners of the King of Great-Britain, which being poſtponed,

A motion was made, "That the letter from the Commiſſioners of the King of Great-Britain lie on the table." Paſſed in the negative.

On motion, *Reſolved*, That the letter, and the papers accompanying it, be read. Whereupon the letter of the 9th, and one dated June 1778, both ſigned "Carliſle, William Eden, George Johnſtone," and a paper endorſed "copy of the commiſſion for reſtoring peace, &c. To the Earl of Carliſle, Lord Viſcount Howe, Sir William Howe, or, in his abſence, Sir Henry Clinton, William Eden and George Johnſtone," were read, and alſo three acts of the Britiſh Parliament, one entituled "an act for repealing an act paſſed in the fourteenth year of his preſent Majeſty's reign, entituled an act for the better regulating the government of the province of the Maſſachuſetts-Bay in New-England". The other two the ſame as the bills already publiſhed.——The letters are as follow:

To his Excellency HENRY LAURENS, *the Preſident, and other the Members of Congreſs.*

Gentlemen,

WITH an earneſt deſire to ſtop the further effuſion of blood and the calamities of war, we communicate to you, with the leaſt poſſible delay after our arrival in this city, a copy of the commiſſion with which his Majeſty is pleaſed to honour us, as alſo the acts of Parliament on which it is founded. And, at the ſame time that we aſſure you of our moſt earneſt deſire to re-eſtabliſh, on the baſis of equal freedom and mutual ſafety, the tranquility of this once happy empire, you will obſerve that we are veſted with powers equal to the purpoſe, and ſuch as are even unprecedented in the annals of our hiſtory.

"In the preſent ſtate of our affairs, though fraught with ſubjects of mutual regret, all parties may draw ſome degree of conſolation, and even auſpicious hope, from the recollection that cordial reconciliation and affection have, in our own and others empires, ſucceeded to contentions and temporary diviſions more violent than thoſe we now experience.

"We wiſh not to recal ſubjects which are now no longer in controverſy, and will reſerve to a proper time of diſcuſſion, both the hopes of mutual benefit, and the conſideration of evils, that may naturally contribute to determine your reſolutions, as well as our own, on this important occaſion.

"The acts of parliament which we tranſmit to you having paſſed with ſingular unanimity, will ſufficiently evince the diſpoſition of Great-Britain, and ſhew that the terms of agreement in contemplation with his Majeſty and with Parliament are ſuch as come up to every wiſh that North-America, either in the hour of temperate deliberation or of the utmoſt apprehenſion of danger to liberty, has expreſſed.

More effectually to demonſtrate our good intentions, we think proper to declare, even in this our firſt communication, that we are diſpoſed to concur in every ſatisfactory and juſt arrangement towards the following among other purpoſes.

"To conſent to a ceſſation of hoſtilities, both by ſea and land.

"To reſtore free intercourſe, to remove mutual reſtrictions, and render the commerce [illegible] through the ſeveral parts of the empire.

"To extend [illegible] that our reſpective intereſts [illegible]

"The [illegible] ſhall be kept up in the different ſtates of North-America, without the conſent of the general Congreſs or particular Aſſemblies.

"To concur in meaſures calculated to diſcharge the debts of America, and to raiſe the credit and value of the paper circulation.

"To perpetuate our union by a reciprocal deputation of an Agent or Agents from the different States, who ſhall have the privilege of a ſeat and voice in the Parliament of Great-Britain; or, inſtead of Great-Britain, in that caſe to have a ſeat and voice in the Aſſemblies of the different States to which they may be deputed reſpectively, in order to attend to the ſeveral intereſts of thoſe by whom they are deputed.

"In ſhort, to eſtabliſh the power of the reſpective legiſlatures in each particular State, to ſettle its revenue, its civil and military eſtabliſhment, and to exerciſe a perfect freedom of legiſlation and internal government, ſo that the Britiſh States throughout North-America, acting with us in peace and war under one common ſovereign, may have the irrevocable enjoyment of every privilege, that is ſhort of a total ſeparation of intereſts, or conſiſtent with that union of force, on which the ſafety of our common religion and liberty depends.

"In our anxiety for preſerving thoſe ſacred and eſſential intereſts, we cannot help taking notice of the inſidious interpoſition of a power, which has, from the firſt ſettlement of theſe colonies, been actuated with enmity to us both. And notwithſtanding the pretended date or preſent form of the French offers to North-America, yet it is notorious that theſe were made in conſequence of the plans of accommodation previouſly concerted in Great-Britain, and with a view to prevent our reconciliation, and to prolong this deſtructive war.

"But we truſt that the inhabitants of North-America, connected with us by the neareſt ties of conſanguinity, ſpeaking the ſame language, intereſted in the preſervation of ſimilar inſtitutions, remembering the former happy intercourſe of good offices and forgetting recent animoſities, will ſhrink from the thought of becoming an acceſſion of force to our late mutual enemy, and will prefer a firm, a free and perpetual coalition with the parent ſtate, to an inſincere and unnatural foreign alliance.

"This diſpatch will be delivered to you by Doctor Ferguſon, the Secretary to his Majeſty's Commiſſion. And for further explanation and diſcuſſion of every ſubject of difference, we deſire to meet with you, either collectively or by deputation, at New-York, Philadelphia, York-Town, or ſuch other place as you may propoſe. We think it right, however, to apprize you, that his Majeſty's inſtructions, as well as our own deſire to remove from the immediate ſeat of war, in the active operations of which we cannot take any part, may induce us ſpeedily to remove to New-York: But the Commander in Chief of his Majeſty's land forces, who is joined with us in this commiſſion, will, if it ſhould become eligible, either concur with us in a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities, or will furniſh all neceſſary paſſports and ſafe conduct to facilitate our meeting, and we ſhall of courſe expect the ſame of you.

"If, after the time that may be neceſſary to conſider this communication and tranſmit your anſwer, the horrors and deſolations of war ſhould continue, we call God and the world to witneſs, that the evils which muſt follow are not to be imputed to Great-Britain: And we cannot, without the moſt real ſorrow, anticipate the proſpect of calamities, which we feel the moſt ardent deſire to prevent. We are, with perfect reſpect,

Gentlemen,

Your moſt obedient and moſt humble ſervants,

CARLISLE,
WM. EDEN,
GEO. JOHNSTONE."

Philadelphia, 9th June, 1778.

To his Excellency HENRY LAURENS, *the Preſident, and other the Members of Congreſs.*

Gentlemen,

THE diſpatch incloſed with this was carried this morning to the neareſt poſt of General Waſhington's army by Doctor Ferguſon, Secretary to his Majeſty's Commiſſion for reſtoring peace, &c. but he, not finding a paſſport, has returned to this place. In order to avoid every unneceſſary delay, we now again ſend it by the ordinary conveyance of your military poſts. As ſoon as the paſſport arrives, Doctor Ferguſon ſhall wait upon you according to our firſt arrangement. We are, with perfect reſpect,

Gentlemen,

Your moſt obedient and moſt humble ſervants,

CARLISLE,
WM. EDEN,
GEO. JOHNSTONE".

Philad. June 1778.

GEORGE the Third, by the grace of God, of Great-Britain, France and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, &c.

TO our right truſty and right well-beloved couſin and counſellor Frederick Earl of Carliſle, Knight of the moſt ancient Order of the Thiſtle; our right truſty and well-beloved couſin and counſellor Richard Lord Viſcount Howe, of our kingdom of Ireland; our truſty and well-beloved Sir William Howe, Knight of the moſt honourable Order of the Bath, Lieutenant General of our forces, General and Commander in Chief of all and ſingular our forces

[illegible] or to be employed, [illegible] upon the Atlantic [illegible] to Weſt-Florida, [illegible] and Pennſylvania, and [illegible] GREETING!

WHEREAS [illegible] and by our [illegible] day of [illegible] of our reign, we did [illegible] all our ſubjects and every part of the dominions belonging to our crown from the calamities of war, and to reſtore them to our protection and peace, nominate, and appoint our right truſty and well beloved couſin and counſellor Richard Lord Viſcount Howe, of our kingdom of Ireland, and our truſty and well beloved William Howe, Eſq; now Sir William Howe, Knight of the Bath, General of our forces, and General of our forces in North-America only, and each of them, jointly and ſeverally, to be our Commiſſioner and Commiſſioners in that behalf, to ſo perform and execute all the powers and authorities in and by the ſaid commiſſion and letters patent [illegible] and committed to them, and each of them, according to the tenor of ſuch letters patent, and of ſuch further inſtructions as they ſhould from time to time [illegible] our ſignet or ſign manual, to have [illegible] enjoy the ſaid office and place, [illegible] Commiſſioner and Commiſſioners, [illegible] with all rights, members and appurtenances [illegible] longing, together with all and ſingular the powers and authorities thereby granted unto them, the ſaid Lord Viſcount Howe and General William Howe, [illegible] each of them, for and during our will and pleaſure [illegible] in ſuch manner and form, as in and by our ſaid recited commiſſion and letters patent, relation being thereunto had, may, among divers other things therein contained more fully and at large appear. And whereas, for the quieting and extinguiſhing of divers jealouſies and apprehenſions of danger to their liberties and rights, which have alarmed many of our ſubjects in the colonies, provinces and plantations of New-Hampſhire, Maſſachuſetts-Bay, Rhode-Iſland, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jerſey, Pennſylvania, with the Three Lower Counties on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina, South-Carolina and Georgia, and for a fuller manifeſtation of our juſt and gracious purpoſes and thoſe of our parliament, to maintain and ſecure all our ſubjects in the clear and perfect enjoyment of their liberties and rights, it is, in and by a certain act made and paſſed in this preſent ſeſſions of parliament, intituled, "An act to enable his Majeſty to appoint Commiſſioners, with ſufficient powers to treat, conſult and agree upon the means of quieting the diſorders now ſubſiſting in certain of the colonies, plantations and provinces of North-America," among other things enacted, that it ſhall and may be lawful for his Majeſty, from time to time, by letters patent under the great ſeal of Great-Britain, to authoriſe and empower five able and ſufficient perſons, or any three of them, to do and perform ſuch acts and things, and to uſe and execute ſuch authorities and powers as in the ſaid act are for that purpoſe mentioned, provided and created. And whereas we are earneſtly deſirous to carry into full and perfect execution the ſeveral juſt and gracious purpoſes abovementioned; Now know ye, That we have revoked and determined, and by theſe preſents do revoke and determine our ſaid recited commiſſion and letters patent, and all and every power, authority, clauſe, article and thing therein contained. And further know ye, That we, repoſing eſpecial truſt and confidence in your wiſdom, loyalty, diligence and circumſpection in the management of the affairs to be hereby committed to your charge, have nominated and appointed, conſtituted and aſſigned, and by theſe preſents we do nominate, appoint, conſtitute and aſſign you, the ſaid Frederick Earl of Carliſle, Richard Viſcount Howe, Sir William Howe, William Eden, and George Johnſtone, or any three of you, to be our Commiſſioners in that behalf, to uſe and exerciſe all and every the powers and authorities hereby entruſted and committed to you, the ſaid Frederick Earl of Carliſle, Richard Viſcount Howe, Sir William Howe, William Eden, George Johnſtone, or any three of you, and to ſo perform and execute all other matters and things hereby enjoined and committed to your care, during our will and pleaſure and no longer, according to the tenor of theſe our letters patent, and of ſuch further inſtructions as you ſhall from time to time receive under our ſignet or ſign manual. And it is our royal will and pleaſure, and we do hereby authoriſe, empower and require you, the ſaid Frederick Earl of Carliſle, Richard Viſcount Howe, Sir William Howe, William Eden, George Johnſtone, or any three of you, to treat, conſult and agree with ſuch body or bodies politic and corporate, or with ſuch aſſembly or aſſemblies of men, with ſuch perſon or perſons as you, the ſaid Frederick Earl of Carliſle, Richard Viſcount Howe, Sir William Howe, William Eden, George Johnſtone, or any three of you, ſhall think meet and ſufficient for that purpoſe, concerning any grievances, or complaints of [illegible] ſtanding, or ſuppoſed to exiſt, in the government of the colonies, provinces or plantations aforeſaid reſpectively, or in the laws and ſtatutes [illegible] reſpecting them or any of them, or of [illegible] any aids or contributions to be furniſhed [illegible] ſaid colonies, provinces or plantations [illegible] the common defence of this realm, and [illegible] thereunto belonging; and of and [illegible] regulations, proviſions, matters and [illegible] convenient for the honour of us and our [illegible] for the common good of all our ſubjects [illegible] further will and pleaſure, That every [illegible] tion, matter or thing, which ſhall [illegible]

[illegible] Frederick Earl of Carliſle, [illegible] George Johnſtone, or any three of you, ſhall think proper or needful poſſible as aforeſaid, whom you or any three of you ſhall have judged meet and ſufficient to enter into ſuch agreement, ſhall be fully and diſtinctly ſet forth in writing, and authenticated by the hands and ſeals of you or any three of you on one ſide, and by ſuch ſeals and other ſignature on the other as the occaſion may require, and as may be ſuitable to the character and authority of the body politic or other perſon ſo agreeing; and ſuch inſtruments ſo authenticated ſhall be by you or any three of you tranſmitted to one of our principal Secretaries of State, in order to be laid before our Parliament, for the further and more perfect ratification thereof; and until ſuch ratification, no ſuch regulation, proviſion, matter or thing, ſhall have any other force or effect, or be carried further into execution than is hereafter mentioned. And we do hereby further authoriſe and empower you, the ſaid Frederick Earl of Carliſle, Richard Viſcount Howe, Sir William Howe, William Eden, and George Johnſtone, or any three of you, from time to time, as you or any three of you ſhall judge convenient, to order and proclaim a ceſſation of hoſtilities on the part of our forces by ſea or land, for ſuch time and under ſuch conditions, reſtrictions or other qualifications, as in your diſcretions ſhall be thought requiſite, and ſuch order and proclamation to revoke and annul in the ſame manner and form. And it is our further will and pleaſure, and we do hereby require and command all our officers and miniſters, civil and military, and all other our loving ſubjects whatſoever, to obſerve and obey all ſuch proclamations reſpectively. And we do hereby, in further purſuance of the ſaid act of Parliament, and of the proviſions therein contained, authoriſe and empower you, the ſaid Frederick Earl of Carliſle, Richard Viſcount Howe, Sir W. Howe, W. Eden and George Johnſtone, or any three of you, by proclamation under your reſpective hands and ſeals, from time to time, as you ſhall ſee convenient, to ſuſpend the operation and effect of a certain act of Parliament, made and paſſed in the 16th year of our reign, for prohibiting all trade and intercourſe with certain colonies and plantations therein named, and for the other purpoſes therein alſo mentioned, or any of the proviſions or reſtrictions therein contained, and therein to ſpecify at what time and places reſpectively, and with what exceptions and reſtrictions, and under what paſſes and clearances, in lieu of thoſe heretofore directed by any act or acts of Parliament for regulating the trade of the colonies and plantations, the ſaid ſuſpenſion ſhall take effect, and the ſaid ſuſpenſion and proclamation in the ſame manner and form to annul and revoke. And we do hereby further authoriſe and empower you, the ſaid Frederick Earl of Carliſle, Richard Viſcount Howe, Sir William Howe, William Eden and George Johnſtone, or any three of you, from time to time, as you ſhall judge convenient, to ſuſpend in any places, and for any time during the continuance of the ſaid firſt recited act, the operation and effect of any act or acts of Parliament which have paſſed ſince the 10th day of February, 1763, and which relate to any of our colonies, provinces or plantations above-mentioned in North America, ſo far as the ſame relate to them, or any of them, or the operation and effect of any clauſe, or any proviſion or other matter in ſuch acts contained, ſo far as ſuch clauſes, proviſions or matters, relate to any of the ſaid colonies, provinces or plantations. And we do hereby further authoriſe and empower you, the ſaid Frederick Earl of Carliſle, Richard Viſcount Howe, Sir William Howe, William Eden and George Johnſtone, or any three of you, to grant a pardon or pardons to any number or deſcription of perſons within the ſaid colonies, provinces or plantations. And we do hereby further authoriſe and empower you, the ſaid Frederick Earl of Carliſle, Richard Viſcount Howe, Sir William Howe, William Eden and George Johnſtone, or any three of you, in any of our colonies, provinces or plantations aforeſaid reſpectively, wherein we have uſually heretofore nominated and appointed a Governor, to nominate and appoint, from time to time, by any inſtrument under your hands and ſeals, or the hands and ſeals of any three of you, a proper perſon, to be the Governor and Commander in Chief in and for ſuch colony, province or plantation reſpectively, to have, hold and exerciſe the ſaid office of Governor and Commander in Chief in and for ſuch colony, province or plantation reſpectively, with all ſuch powers and authorities as any Governor of ſuch province, heretofore appointed by us, might or could have exerciſed, in as full and ample manner and form as if ſuch Governor and Commander in Chief had been nominated and appointed by our letters patent or commiſſion; and for that purpoſe, if need be, to revoke, annul and make void any commiſſion or letters patent heretofore granted, for appointing any ſuch Governor and Commander in Chief. Whereas, by certain letters patent under our great ſeal, bearing date on the 29th day of April, in the 16th year of our reign, we have conſtituted and appointed you, the ſaid Sir William Howe, to be General and Commander in Chief of all and ſingular our forces employed, or to be employed, within our colonies in North-America, lying upon the Atlantic ocean, from Nova-Scotia on the north to Weſt-Florida on the ſouth, both incluſive, to have, hold, exerciſe and enjoy the ſaid office during our will and pleaſure; and in caſe you, the ſaid Sir William Howe, ſhould, by death or any other manner, be diſabled from exerciſing the ſaid command, it was our will and pleaſure, therein expreſſed, that the ſame, with all authorities, rights and privileges, contained in that our ſaid commiſſion, ſhould devolve on ſuch officer, bearing our commiſſion, as ſhould be next in rank to you, the ſaid Sir William Howe. And whereas our truſty and well beloved Sir Henry Clinton, Knight of the moſt honourable Order of the Bath, Lieut. General of our forces, and General of our forces in our army in America only, now actually bears our commiſſion, and is next in rank to you, the ſaid Sir William Howe: Know it is our further will and pleaſure, and we do hereby ordain and appoint, that whenever the ſaid command in the ſaid letters patent mentioned ſhall, in purſuance thereof, devolve upon the ſaid Sir Henry Clinton, all and every the powers and authorities hereby entruſted and committed to you, the ſaid Sir William Howe, ſhall forthwith ceaſe and determine, and the ſaid powers and authorities and, every of them, ſhall from thenceforth be entruſted and committed, and are hereby entruſted and committed to the ſaid Sir Henry Clinton, to uſe and exerciſe the ſame powers and authorities, and to perform and execute all other the matters and things aforeſaid, in as full ample extent and form, and no other, as you the ſaid William Howe, are hereby authoriſed to [illegible] perform and execute the ſame. [illegible] and command all the officers [illegible] all other our loving ſubjects [illegible]

[illegible] this day [illegible] the ſucceſſion of [illegible] the powers and authorities herein [illegible] do hereby declare [illegible] powers and [illegible] ſhall ceaſe, determine and become [illegible] on the 18 day of June, which ſhall be in the year of our Lord 1779, unleſs we ſhall not otherwiſe in the mean time have revoked and determined the ſame. In Witneſs whereof, we have cauſed theſe our letters to be made patent. Witneſs ourſelf, at Weſtminſter, the 13th day of April, in the 18th year of our reign.

By the KING himſelf.

YORKE.

A true Copy,
ADAM FERGUSON, *Secretary.*

Ordered, That they be referred to a Committee of five.

Eodem Die, P. M.

The Committee to whom were referred the letters and papers from the Earl of Carliſle, &c. Commiſſioners from the King of Great-Britain, reported the draught of a letter, which was read.

Reſolved, That the conſideration thereof be poſtponed till to-morrow.

June 17, 1778.

Congreſs reſumed the conſideration of the draught of the letter, in anſwer to the letter and papers received from the Earl of Carliſle, &c. Commiſſioners from the King of Great-Britain, which was unanimouſly agreed to, and is as follows:

To their Excellencies the Right Hon. the Earl of CARLISLE, WILLIAM EDEN, Eſq; GEORGE JOHNSTONE, Eſq; Commiſſioners from his Britannic Majeſty, Philadelphia.

I HAVE received the letter from your Excellencies of the 9th inſtant, with the enclоſures, and laid them before Congreſs. Nothing but an earneſt deſire to ſpare the farther effuſion of human blood could have induced them to read a paper, containing expreſſions ſo diſreſpectful to his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, the good and great ally of theſe States; or to conſider propoſitions ſo derogatory to the honour of an Independent Nation.

"The acts of the Britiſh Parliament, the commiſſion from your Sovereign, and your letter, ſuppoſe the people of theſe States to be ſubjects of the Crown of Great-Britain, and are founded on the idea of dependence, which is utterly inadmiſſible.

"I am further directed to inform your Excellencies, that Congreſs are inclined to peace, notwithſtanding the unjuſt claims from which this war originated, and the ſavage manner in which it hath been conducted. They will therefore be ready to enter upon the conſideration of a treaty of peace and commerce, not inconſiſtent with treaties already ſubſiſting, when the King of Great-Britain ſhall demonſtrate a ſincere diſpoſition for that purpoſe. The only ſolid proof of this diſpoſition will be, an explicit acknowledgment of the independence of theſe States, or the withdrawing his fleets and armies.

I have the honour to be,
Your Excellencies moſt obedient and humble ſervant.

Signed, by order of the unanimous voice of Congreſs,
HENRY LAURENS, *Preſident.*

York-Town, June 17, 1778.

Reſolved unanimouſly, That Congreſs approve the conduct of General Waſhington in refuſing a paſſport to Doctor Ferguſon.

Publiſhed by order of Congreſs,
CHARLES THOMSON, *Secretary.*

To the Earl of CARLISLE, Lord Viſcount HOWE, Sir WILLIAM HOWE (or in his abſence Sir HENRY CLINTON) WILLIAM EDEN and GEORGE JOHNSTONE.

Truſty and well beloved ſervants of your ſacred Maſter, in whom he is well pleaſed.

AS you are ſent to America for the expreſs purpoſe of treating with any body and any thing, you will pardon an addreſs from one, who diſdains to flatter thoſe whom he loves. Should you therefore deign to read this addreſs, your chaſt ears will not be offended with the language of adulation, a language you deſpiſe.

I have ſeen your moſt elegant and moſt excellent letter "to his Excellency Henry Laurens, the Preſident, and "other the Members of Congreſs." As that Body hath thought your propoſitions unworthy their particular regard, it may be ſome ſatisfaction to your curioſity, and tend to appeaſe the offended ſpirit of negotiation, if one out of the many individuals on this great Continent ſhould ſpeak to you the ſentiments of America. Sentiments which your own good ſenſe hath doubtleſs ſuggeſted, and which are repeated only to convince you that, notwithſtanding the narrow ground of private information on which we ſtand in this diſtant region, ſtill a knowledge of our own rights, an attention to our own intereſts, and a ſacred reſpect for the dignity of human nature, have given us to underſtand the true principles which ought, and which therefore ſhall, ſway our conduct.

You begin with the amiable expreſſions of humanity, the earneſt deſire of tranquility and peace. A better introduction to Americans could not be deviſed. For the ſake of the latter, we once laid our liberties at the feet of your Prince, and even your armies have not eradicated the former from our boſoms.

You tell us you have powers unprecedented in the annals of your hiſtory. And England, unhappy England, will remember with deep contrition, that theſe powers have been rendered of no avail by a conduct unprecedented in the annals of mankind. Had your royal maſter condeſcended to liſten to the prayer of millions, he had not thus have ſent you. Had moderation ſwayed what we were proud to call our *mother country*, "her full blown *dignity* would not have broken under her."

You tell us that "all parties may draw ſome degree of conſolation, and even auſpicious hope, from recollection." We wiſh this moſt ſincerely for the ſake of *all parties*. America, even in the moment of ſubjugation, would have been conſoled by conſcious virtue, and her hope was and is in the juſtice of her cauſe, and the juſtice of the Almighty. Theſe are ſources of hope and of conſolation, which neither time nor chance can alter or take away.

You mention "the mutual benefits and conſideration of evils, that may naturally contribute to determine our reſolutions." As to the former, you know too well that we could derive no benefit from any union with you, nay [illegible] by deducing the reaſons to evince this, [illegible] your underſtandings. As to the latter, it were to be wiſhed you had produced a line of conduct equal to [illegible]

[illegible] You could not but know [illegible] dom, diſdain the conſideration of [illegible] attain it. Had not your own hearts borne teſtimony to this truth, you might have learnt it from the annals of your hiſtory. For in thoſe baſe inſtances of this kind it [illegible] But ſhould theſe inſtances be inſufficient, we pray you to read the inconſiſtencies of Britiſh [illegible]

That the acts of Parliament you tranſmitted were paſſed *with ſingular unanimity*, we preſume not to doubt. You will pardon me, gentlemen, for obſerving, that the reaſons of that unanimity are ſtrongly marked in the report of a Committee of Congreſs, agreed to on the 22d of April laſt, and referred to in a late letter from Congreſs to Lord Viſcount Howe and Sir Henry Clinton.

You tell us you are willing "to conſent to a ceſſation of hoſtilities, both by ſea and land." It is difficult for rude Americans to determine whether you are ſerious in this propoſition, or whether you mean to jeſt with their ſimplicity. Upon a ſuppoſition, however, that you have too much magnanimity to divert yourſelves on an occaſion of ſuch importance to America, and perhaps not very trivial in the eyes of thoſe who ſent you, permit me to aſſure you, on the ſacred word of a gentleman, that if you ſhall tranſport your troops to England, where before long your Prince will certainly want their aſſiſtance, we never ſhall follow them thither. We are not ſo romantically fond of fighting, neither have we ſuch regard for the city of London, as to commence a cruſade for the poſſeſſion of that holy land. Thus you may be certain that hoſtilities will ceaſe by land. It would be doing ſingular injuſtice to your national character, to ſuppoſe you are deſirous of a like ceſſation by ſea. The courſe of the war, and the very flouriſhing ſtate of your commerce, notwithſtanding our weak efforts to interrupt it, clearly ſhew that you can exclude us from the ſea. *The ſea your kingdom.*

You offer "to reſtore free intercourſe, to revive mutual affection, and renew the common benefits of naturalization." Whenever your countrymen ſhall be taught wiſdom by experience, and learn from paſt misfortunes to purſue their true intereſts in future, we ſhall readily admit every intercourſe which is neceſſary for the purpoſes of commerce, and uſual between different nations. To revive *mutual* affection is utterly impoſſible. We freely forgive you, but it is not in nature that you ſhould forgive us. You have injured us too much. We might, on this occaſion, give you ſome late inſtances of ſingular barbarity, committed as well by the forces of his Britannic Majeſty, as by thoſe of his generous and faithful allies, the Senecas, Onandagas and Tuſcaroras. But we will not offend a courtly ear by the recital of thoſe diſguſting ſcenes. Beſides this, it might give pain to that humanity which hath, as you obſerve, prompted your overtures to dwell upon the ſplendid victories obtained by a licentious ſoldiery over unarmed men in defenceleſs villages, their wanton devaſtations, their deliberate murders, or to inſpect thoſe ſcenes of carnage, painted by the wild exceſſes of ſavage rage. Theſe amiable traits of national conduct cannot but revive in our boſoms that partial affection we once felt for every thing which bore the name of Engliſhman. As to the common benefits of naturalization, it is a matter we conceive to be of the moſt ſovereign indifference. A few of our wealthy citizens may hereafter viſit England and Rome, to ſee the ruins of thoſe auguſt temples, in which the Goddeſs of Liberty was once adored. Theſe will hardly claim naturalization in either of thoſe places as a *benefit*. On the other hand, ſuch of your ſubjects as ſhall be driven by the iron hand of oppreſſion to ſeek for refuge among thoſe whom they now perſecute, will certainly be admitted to *the benefits of naturalization*. We labour to rear an aſylum for mankind, and regret that circumſtances will not permit you, Gentlemen, to contribute to a deſign ſo very agreeable to your ſeveral tempers and diſpoſitions.

But further, your Excellencies ſay "we will concur to "extend every freedom to trade that our reſpective in-"tereſts can require" Unfortunately there is a little difference in theſe intereſts, which you might not have found it very eaſy to reconcile, had the Congreſs been diſpoſed to riſque their heads by liſtening to terms, which I have the honour to aſſure you are treated with ineffable contempt by every honeſt whig in America. The difference I allude to is, that it is your intereſt to monopolize our commerce, and it is our intereſt to trade with all the world. There is indeed a method of cutting this gordian knot, which perhaps no ſtateſman is acute enough to untie. By reſerving to the Parliament of Great-Britain the right of determining what our reſpective intereſts require, they might extend the freedom of trade, or circumſcribe it, at their pleaſure, for what they might call our *reſpective intereſts*. But I truſt it would not be to our *mutual ſatisfaction*. Your "earneſt deſire to ſtop the far-"ther effuſion of blood, and the calamities of war," will therefore lead you, on maturer reflection, ro reprobate a plan teeming with diſcord, and which, in the ſpace of twenty years, would produce another wild expedition acroſs the Atlantic, and in a few years more ſome ſuch commiſſion as that "with which his Majeſty hath been "pleaſed to honour you."

We cannot but admire the generoſity of ſoul, which prompts you "to agree that no military force ſhall be "kept up in the different States of North-America, with-"out the conſent of the general Congreſs or particular "Aſſemblies." The only grateful return we can make for this exemplary condeſcenſion is to aſſure your Excellencies, and, on behalf of my countrymen, I do moſt ſolemnly promiſe and aſſure you, that no military force ſhall be kept up in the different States of North-America, without the conſent of the general Congreſs, and that of the legiſlatures of thoſe States. You will therefore cauſe the forces of your royal maſter to be removed, for I can venture to aſſure you that the Congreſs have not conſented, and probably will not conſent, that they be kept up.

You have alſo made the unſolicited offer of concurring "in meaſures calculated to diſcharge the debts of America, and to raiſe the credit and value of the paper circulation." If your Excellencies mean by this to apply for offices in the department of our finance, I am to aſſure you (which I do with "perfect reſpect") that it will be neceſſary to procure very ample recommendations. For as the Engliſh have not yet purſued meaſures to diſcharge their own debts, and raiſe the credit and value of their own paper circulation, but, on the contrary, are in a fair way to encreaſe the one and abſolutely deſtroy the other, you will inſtantly perceive that financiers from that nation would preſent themſelves with the moſt aukward grace imaginable.

You propoſe to us to adopt "to perpetuate our union." It might not be unwiſe previouſly to eſtabliſh this union, which may be done by your acceptance of the treaty of

[illegible] tendered to you by Congress. And [illegible], I can venture to say, would continue as long as your Excellencies could prevail upon themselves not to [illegible] of nations.

You say, to use your own language, the inaccuracy of which, considering the importance of the subject, is [illegible] wondered at, or at least may be excused, "in "short to establish the power of the respective legisla-"tures in each particular State, to settle its revenue, its "civil and military establishment, and to exercise a per-"fect freedom of legislation and internal government, so "that the British States throughout North-America act-"ing with us, in peace and war, under one common so-"vereign, may have the irrevokable enjoyment of every "privilege that is short of a total separation of interests, "or consistent with that union of force on which the "safety of our common religion and liberty depends." Let me assure you, gentlemen, that the power of the respective legislatures in each particular State is already most fully established, and on the most solid foundations. It is established on the perfect freedom of legislation, and a vigorous administration of internal government. As to the settlement of the revenue, and the civil and military establishment, these are the work of the day, for which the several legislatures are fully competent. I have also the pleasure to congratulate your Excellencies, that the country, for the settlement of whose government, revenue, administration, and the like, you have exposed yourselves to the fatigues and hazards of a disagreeable voyage, and more disagreeable negociation, hath abundant resources wherewith to defend her liberties now, and pour forth the rich stream of revenue hereafter. As the States of North-America mean to possess the *irrevokable* enjoyment of their privileges, it is absolutely necessary for them to decline all connection with a parliament, who, even in the laws under which you act, reserve in express terms the power of *revoking* every proposition which you may agree to. We have a due sense of the kind offer you make, to grant us a share in your Sovereign, but really, gentlemen, we have not the least inclination to accept of it. He may suit you extremely well, but he is not to our taste. You are solicitous to prevent a total separation of interests, and this, after all, seems to be the gist of the business: To make you as easy as possible on this subject, I have to observe, that it may and probaby will, in some instances, be our interest to assist you, and then we certainly shall. Where this is not the case, your Excellencies have doubtless too much good sense as well as good nature to require it. We cannot perceive that our liberty does in the least depend upon any union of force with you; for we find that, after you have exerted your force against us for upwards of three years, we are now upon the point of establishing our liberties in direct opposition to it. Neither can we conceive that, after the experiment you have made, any nation in Europe will embark in so unpromising a scheme as the subjugation of America. It is not necessary that every body should play the Quixotte. One is enough to entertain a generation at least. Your Excellencies will, I hope, excuse me when I differ from you, as to our having a religion in common with you: The religion of America is the religion of all mankind. Any person may worship in the manner he thinks most agreeable to the Deity; and if he behaves as a good citizen, no one concerns himself as to his faith or adorations, neither have we the least solicitude to exalt any one sect or profession above another.

I am extremely sorry to find in your letter some sentences, which reflect upon the character of his Most Christian Majesty. It certainly is not kind, or consistent with the principles of philanthropy you profess, to traduce a gentleman's character without affording him an opportunity of defending himself; and that too a near neighbour, and not long since an intimate brother, who besides hath lately given you the most solid additional proofs of his pacific disposition, and with an unparalelled sincerity, which would do honour to other Princes, declared to your court, unasked, the nature and effect of a treaty he had just entered into with these States. Neither is it quite according to the rules of politeness to use such terms in addressing yourselves to Congress, when you well knew that he was their good and faithful ally. It is indeed true, as you justly observe, that he hath at times been at enmity with his Britannic Majesty, by which we suffered some inconveniences: But these flowed rather from our connection with you than any ill-will towards us: At the same time it is a solemn truth, worthy of your serious attention, that you did not commence the present war, a war in which we have suffered infinitely more than by any former contest, a fierce, a bloody, I am sorry to add, an unprovoked and cruel war. That you did not commence this, I say, because of any connection between us and our present ally; but, on the contrary, as soon as you perceived that the treaty was in agitation, proposed terms of peace to us in consequence of what you have been pleased to denominate an invidious interposition. How then does the account stand between us. America, being at peace with all the world, was formerly drawn into a war with France, in consequence of her union with Great-Britain. At present America, being engaged in a war with Great-Britain, will probably obtain the most honourable terms of peace, in consequence of her friendly connection with France. For the truth of these positions I appeal, gentlemen, to your own knowledge. I know it is very hard for you to part with what you have accustomed yourselves, from your earliest infancy, to call your colonies. I pity your situation, and therefore I excuse the little abberations from truth which your letter contains. At the same time it is possible that you may have been misinformed. For I will not suppose that your letter was intended to delude the people of these States. Such unmanly disingennous artifices have of late been exerted with so little effect, that prudence, if not probity, would prevent a repetition. To undeceive you, therefore, I take the liberty of assuring your Excellencies, from the very best intelligence, that what you call "the present form of the French offers to North-"America," in other words the treaties of alliance and commerce between his Most Christain Majesty and these States, were not made in consequence of any plans of accommodation concerted in Great-Britain, nor with a view to prolong this destructive war. If you consider that these treaties were actually concluded before the draught of the bills under which you act was sent for America, and that much time must necessarily have been consumed in adjusting compacts of such intricacy and importance; and further, if you consider the early notification of this treaty by the court of France, and the assurance given that America had reserved a right of admitting even you to a similar treaty, you must be convinced of the truth of my assertions. The fact is, that when the British Minister perceived that we were in treaty

[illegible] It seems to [illegible] gentlemen, there is something [illegible] the word *dependence* in your procedure. Lest the supposition that Congress [illegible] proceeded to your propositions, and then I ask you, gentlemen, Had you full powers from your commission to make these propositions? Perhaps you did not think it worth while to consider your commission, but we Americans are apt to compare things together, and to reason. The second question I ask is, What security could you give that the British Parliament would ratify your compacts? You can give no such security, and therefore we should, after forfeiting our reputation as a people, after you had filched from us our good name, and perswaded us to give to the common enemy of man the precious jewel of our liberties; after all this, I say, we should have been at the mercy of a Parliament, which, to say no more of it, has not treated us with too great tenderness. It is quite needless to add, that even if that Parliament had ratified the conditions you proposed, still poor America was to lie at the mercy of any future Parliament, or appeal to the sword, which certainly is not the most pleasant business men can be engaged in.

For your use I subjoin the following creed of every good American. I believe that in every kingdom, state or empire, there must be, from the necessity of the thing, one supreme legislative power, with authority to bind every part in all cases, the proper objects of human laws. I believe that to be bound by laws, to which he does not consent by himself or his representative, is the direct definition of a slave. I do therefore believe, that a dependence on Great-Britain, howsoever the same may be limited or qualified, is utterly inconsistent with every idea of liberty, for the defence of which I have solemnly pledged my life and fortune to my countrymen; and this engagement I will sacredly adhere to so long as I shall live. Amen.

Now if you will take the poor advice of one, who is really a friend to England and Englishmen, and who hath even some Scotch blood in his veins, away with your fleets and your armies, acknowledge the independence of America, and as Ambassadors, and not Commissioners, solicit a treaty of peace, amity, commerce and alliance with the rising Stars of this western world. Your nation totters on the brink of a stupendous precipice, and even delay will ruin her.

You have told the Congress, "If, after the time that "may be necessary to consider this communication, and "transmit your answer, the horrors and devastations of "war should continue, we call God and the world to "witness that the evils, which must follow, are not to "be imputed to Great-Britain." I wish you had spared your protestation. Matters of this kind may appear to you in a trivial light, as meer ornamental flowers of rhetoric, but they are serious things registered in the high chancery of Heaven. Remember the awful abuse of words like these by General Burgoyne, and remember his fate. There is one above us, who will take exemplary vengeance for every insult upon his Majesty. You know that the cause of America is just. You know that she contends for that freedom, to which all men are entitled. That she contends against oppression, rapine, and more than savage barbarity. The blood of the innocent is upon your hands, and all the waters of the ocean will not wash it away. We again make our solemn appeal to the God of Heaven to decide between you and us. And we pray that in the doubtful scale of battle we may be successful, as we have justice on our side, and that the merciful Saviour of the world may forgive our oppressors. I am, my Lords and Gentlemen,

The friend of human nature,
And one who glories in the title of
AN AMERICAN.

To the Printers of the PENNSYLVANIA GAZETTE.

GENTLEMEN,

WHILE I regret that Governor Johnstone has thought it proper to write private letters into these States, upon the subject of his public commission, and highly respect the determination of Congress to prevent a private correspondence with the enemy, I think I render a satisfactory service to the public in laying the following letters before them. The answer was written immediately after the receipt of Governor Johnstone's letter, but was not sent as was intended. However, thinking it too valuable to be lost, I prevailed upon my friend the President to allow it to be published, with the letter which gave occasion to it. I now send them for publication, and am, Gentlemen,

Your most humble servant,
W. H. DRAYTON.

York-Town, June 17, 1778.

[Private]

Dear Sir, *Philadelphia, June 10, 1778.*

I BEG to transfer to my friend Dr. Ferguson, the private civilities which my friends Mr. Manning and Mr. Oswald request in my behalf. He is a man of the utmost probity, and of the highest esteem in the Republic of Letters.

"If you should follow the example of Britain in the hour of her insolence, and send us back without a hearing, I shall hope, from private friendship, that I may be permitted to see the country, and the worthy characters she has exhibited to the world, upon making the request in any way you may point out. I am, with great regard,

Dear Sir,
Your most obedient and most humble servant,
GEO. JOHNSTONE."

His Excel. Henry Laurens,
Congress.

Dear Sir, *York-Town, June 14, 1778.*

YESTERDAY I was honoured with your favour of the 10th, and thank you for the transmission of those from my dear and worthy friends Mr. Oswald and Mr. Manning.—Had Doctor Ferguson been the bearer of these papers, I should have shewn that Gentleman every degree of respect and attention, that times and circumstances admit of.

"It is, Sir, for Great-Britain to determine whether her Commissioners shall return unheard by the Representatives of these United States, or revive a friendship with the Citizens at large, and remain among us as long as they please.

"You are undoubtedly acquainted with the only terms upon which Congress can treat for accomplishing this good end; terms from which, although writing in a private character, I may venture to assert, with great assurance, they never will recede, even admitting the continuance of hostile attempts, and that, from the rage of war, the

[illegible] are to add, Sir, as [illegible] of Great-Britain, [illegible] will be found in contradiction [illegible]

"Congress in no hour [illegible] [illegible] that their minds are [illegible] they were, when, destitute of [illegible] our expectation of an all-see[illegible] general public fasting and humiliation [illegible] Worship and in the presence of God, [illegible] "hold no conference or Treaty with [illegible] "on the part of Great-Britain, [illegible] "preliminary thereto, either with[illegible] "Armies, or, in positive and express terms, acknow-"ledge the Independence of these States, would be irrational.

"At a proper time, Sir, I shall think myself highly honoured by a personal attention, and by contributing to render every part of these States agreeable to you; but until the basis of mutual confidence shall be established, I believe, Sir, neither former private friendship, nor any other consideration, can influence Congress to consent that even Governor Johnstone, a Gentleman who has been so deservedly esteemed in America, shall see the country. I have but one voice, and that shall be against it. But let me intreat you, my Dear Sir, do not hence conclude that I am deficient in affection to my old friends, through whose kindness I have obtained the honour of the present correspondence, or that I am not, with very great personal respect and esteem,

Sir,
Your most obedient and most humble servant,
HENRY LAURENS.

The Hon. Geo. Johnstone, Esq;
Philadelphia.

To their Excellencies the Earl of CARLISLE, WILLIAM EDEN, *and* GEORGE JOHNSTONE, *Esquires, British Commissioners.*

AS I have but a few moments that I can, in conscience, appropriate to a correspondence with your Excellencies, I trust this circumstance will, with you, excuse the abrupt manner in which I introduce myself, and my reflections, to your attention.

Your letter of the 9th instant to Congress, your commission, and the acts of the British Parliament upon which they are grounded, are the fashionable subjects of curious enquiry, in how many points of view they are fallacious and incompetent to the object of your *ostensible* negotiation. Altho' Congress cannot condescend minutely to animadvert upon your propositions, as your Excellencies are empowered to hear individuals, I flatter myself, so anxious is your inclination to restore peace, that you will for a moment honour me with your attention.

In your letter of the ninth instant, Governor Johnstone signed this position, "Notwithstanding the pretended date or present form of the French offers to North-America, yet it is notorious that these were made in consequence of the plans of accommodation previously concerted in Great-Britain, and with a view to prevent our reconciliation, and to prolong this destructive war."

On the 5th of February, in the *House of Commons*, Governor Johnstone also signed this position, "I have had a hint, and have good reason to believe a proposition *will be made* to parliament in four or five days, by administration, that may be a ground of re-union: I really do not know the particulars, nevertheless, as *I learn some preliminaries have lately gone from France*, I think it cannot be deemed unfriendly to either country, to give you notice of this *intended proposition*, THAT you may in prudence *do nothing hastily* with a foreign power."

The "preliminaries" mentioned by Governor Johnstone, as "lately gone from France," were *at that moment* at sea, with Mr. Simeon Deane, and had been so some weeks; they were to the following purpose. "That his Most Christian Majesty was determined to acknowledge our Independence, and make a Treaty with us of Amity and Commerce. That in this treaty, no advantage would be taken of our present situation to obtain terms from us, which otherwise would not be convenient for us to agree to, his Majesty desiring that the treaty, once made, should be durable, and our amity subsist for ever, which could not be expected, if each nation did not find its interest in the continuance as well as in the commencement of it. It was therefore his intention, that the terms of the treaty should be such, as we might be willing to agree to if our state had been long established, and in the fulness of strength and power, and such as we should approve of when that time should come. That his Majesty was fixed in his determination, not only to acknowledge, but to support our independence by every means in his power. That in doing this, he might probably be soon engaged in war, with all the expences, risque and damage usually attending it; yet he should not expect any compensation from us on that account, nor pretend that he acted wholly for our sakes, since, besides his real goodwill to us and our cause, it was manifestly the interest of France, that the power of England should be diminished by our separation from it. He should, moreover, not so much as insist, that, if he engaged in the war with England on our account, we should not make a separate peace for ourselves, whenever good and advantageous terms were offered to us. The only condition he should require and rely on would be this, *that we, in no peace to be made with England, should give up our Independence, and return to the obedience of that government.*"—These preliminaries were, by Monsr. Girard, in the name of his Most Christian Majesty, announced to the American Commissioners at Paris *on the 16th day of December last*. And in consequence of them, the Treaty of Paris, between America and France, was actually signed *on the 6th of February, 1778*. It is notorious that it was on the 19th day of February that Lord North introduced his propositions to Parliament for a reunion with America.

From this state of facts, two points result. First, that the two positions signed by Governor Johnstone militate against each other *in direct* terms. Secondly, that so far were "the French offers" from being "made in conse-"quence of the plans of accommodation concerted in "Great-Britain," *that the latter were made in consequence only of the former*; for the French offers were made on *the 16th day of December*." Governor Johnstone (connected with administration) on the 5th of February expressly [illegible] he was then ignorant of any particulars of a plan of [illegible] commodation. On the 6th of February the Fren[illegible] were compleated by a treaty; and it was not *till the 19th of February* that any plan of accommodation was [illegible] nicated to the British Parliament. Your E[illegible] however, do not scruple, even in your first [illegible] Congress, to assert a position, the contra[illegible]

...propositions to Congress.

...Your Excellencies offer us a ... for our representatives in your Parliament. Happily for us, we are too well acquainted with the ineffectiveness of the Scotch representatives there, to expect that American representatives can, in the same place, possess any importance; or that America can derive any advantage from such a representation.

As an alternative, you propose to send agents to our Assemblies. But as we know they would be spies upon us, and *agents to purchase our voices*, we will have no such characters among us.

You propose to concur in measures to discharge the debts of America. By this, as our subjection is implied, so are restrictions of some sort upon our trade; of necessity, so is a *diminution of our ability* to discharge our debts. We know you cannot discharge the debts of your own nation, we therefore cannot expect that you will, or even desire that you should, discharge any part of ours. We are willing and able to discharge our debts, without your concurrence or aid. Your offer therefore wears the appearance of being officious and idle.

You propose to extend every freedom to trade, that our respective interests can require. Do we not know, that you have a natural inclination to monopolize trade? Do we not know, that your and our interest in the point of trade is in direct opposition? It is your interest that our trade should be limited---it is ours, that it should be unlimited---we there differ, *toto cælo*.

You propose a cessation of hostilities. Withdraw your forces by land, and hostilities there are instantly ended; you need not be anxious for a cessation at sea; on that element we have every thing to fear from you. If you mean fair, why then do you delay to do that which you seem to desire, and which that it be done rests entirely with yourselves?

Such are your principal offers in detail. *Of how little value are they to us!*

But you offer us every thing short of independence. If you are serious, *of how little value must such a connection with us be to you!*---Will your Excellencies condescend, with me, to view Great-Britain and America under one Sovereign? The sovereignty in Britain; America possessed of powers of government but short of independence.

America, formed for empire, must naturally arrive at it; having tasted of it, she will ever be anxious to possess it again; having by arms acquired a power, but short of independence, she will encrease in reputation and ability to become independent, and this will encrease her desire to be so; her former success will possess her with confidence and hope; experience will make her ever suspicious of the intentions of Britain: Hence, being in possession of powers, only short of independent, she will always be prepared to assert her rights, especially having in mind her naked condition at the sudden commencement of the present war. In such a formidable situation, design, accident, suspicion, or the breath of displeasure on either side, must, in a few years, break the cobweb by which you offer to hold her under the dominion of Britain. And is the acquiring dominion to be held by such a tie worth another campaign! Can it be worth the pursuit of a man of *common honesty* and common sense!

But supposing your offers to be, *what they are not*, of sterling value to America: How inadequate are your powers to the purpose of accommodation! The great Lord Abingdon puts this matter in the clearest point of view. In his most elegant protest on this subject, he says,—"Although the Commissioners and the Congress be agreed, such agreement is of no effect till confirmed by Parliament; which is giving such advantage to Parliament, by knowing what Congress will do, and is of such disadvantage to Congress, by not knowing what Parliament will confirm, that the very inequality of the conditions will put a stop to accommodation." If America enters into terms with you, see what might be the consequence.—Your Excellencies must allow, *that it is our duty to avoid them.*

We have made a solemn treaty with France—the *object* is, the establishment of our Independence. If we treat with you upon the footing of Dependence, we at once break our faith with France, for ever lose all credit with foreign nations and are, *ipso facto*, cut off even from the hope of foreign succour. In this situation, *you will absolutely hold us at mercy.* Your King, Ministers and Parliament may refuse to ratify your engagements, for they have *the power* to do so. Governor Johnstone has long and ably pleaded the cause of America. Is he now come to our shore, to invite us to surrender to the justice and mercy of our most unjust and vengeful enemies! Enemies, who have for a long course of years treated us with the basest deceptions, and calumniated us throughout Europe: Enemies, who have starved to death our countrymen taken prisoners, loading them while alive and *in their power* with every insult: Enemies, who gave *stretch* to their savage allies, to murder our old and unarmed farmers, and their helpless women and children: Enemies, who have plundered our country, burned our towns, and armed son against father, servant against master, and brother against brother, in order to subject us: Enemies, who have moved even hell itself, to accomplish their purpose of blood, ruin and tyranny: Enemies, utterly abandoned to corruption, destitute of public virtue, deaf to the voice of justice, and dead to the feelings of humanity!—Can it possibly be expected that such enemies, after the expence of so many millions; the loss of so much of their own blood; the disgraces their arms have sustained; the insults to which they have been obliged to submit from foreign nations, in their pursuit of our destruction; the impending ruin under which they have been driven by our opposition; I say, can it possibly be expected, that when *such enemies, so provoked*, shall find us lying at their mercy, they will ratify your Excellencies terms, but short of Independence, and be content to hold dominion over us by so slender a tie as a cobweb!

Timeo Danaos, et dona ferentes.

America is independent, *de facto & de jure*. She will maintain her station at the expence of her last drop of blood. It is in vain to solicit what your arms, when most powerful, were not able to compel. You are no longer in that situation. Submission is more consistent to the conduct they ever [illegible]. Our submission is

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In CONGRESS, [illegible]

Whereas many letters, [illegible] these United States, have been [illegible] England through the contempt of the enemy; and some of them, which have [illegible] the inspection of Members of Congress, are found to contain ideas industriously calculated to divide and delude the good people of these States;

Resolved, That it be, and it is hereby earnestly recommended to the legislative and executive authorities of the several States, to exercise the utmost care and vigilance, and take the most effectual measures to put a stop to so dangerous and criminal a correspondence.

Resolved, That the Commander in Chief, and the Commanders in each and every military department be, and he and they are hereby directed to carry the measures recommended in the above resolution into the most effectual execution.

Extract from the Minutes,
CHARLES THOMSON, *Secretary.*

N. B. It is recommended to the several printers through the continent, to publish the above resolves in their papers.

The following is an extract of a letter from Versailles, addressed to John Holker, Esq; lately arrived at York-Town from France, which is published for the information of those concerned in the privateers therein mentioned.

"The two American privateers, the Hancock and the Boston, commanded by the Captains Babson and Hendrick, brought into Nantz river the 13th of August last two English prizes, laden with sugar, which were entered as Dutch vessels, bound from St. Eustatia: This false entry occasioned the legal confiscation of the said vessels: After the laws had taken their due course, his Majesty has graciously listened to the applications which have been made to him, and I am directed to authorize you to pay to the owners of said American privateers, the Hancock and the Boston, the sum of 400,000 livres French money, which is said to be the full value of the two vessels and cargoes."

On Thursday last the Hon. JOHN HANCOCK, and the Hon. SAMUEL HOLTEN, Esquires, two of the Delegates for the Massachusetts State, and the Hon. JOHN COLLINS, Esq; one of the Delegates for the State of Rhode-Island, arrived here from the eastward.

From good authority we learn, that the enemy evacuated the City of Philadelphia on Thursday morning last, and that Captain M'Glaine, with a party of Continental troops, took possession of it the same morning.

JOHN LEVINS,

HAS FOR SALE, Wholesale or Retail, at the house of Mr. Joseph Smith, in Market-street, York-Town,

A Large Assortment of DRY GOODS, among which are the following articles, viz. Broadcloths and trimmings of different colours, camblets, Irish and country linens, silk handkerchiefs of all colours, lawn handkerchiefs, muslins, ginghams, striped hollands, calicoes, hairbine, fine and coarse cambricks, gauze and catgut, lawns, thread, cotton and silk stockings, silks, persians, threads of all kinds, garters and laces, watch chains, tapes of different colours, mens shoes, pins and needles, shoe and knee buckles, scissars and razors, cork-screws, sheep-shears, taylors thimbles, shoemakers pincers, looking-glasses, gimblets, ivory and horn combs, knives, snuffers, brass ink holders, penknives, ladies sett hairpins, necklaces of different sorts, watch keys, saddle-bag-locks, pasteboards, blank books, pocket-books, wafers by the box, wrapping paper and sadlery ware.

N. B. BOHEA TEA, of the best quality, by the barrel or smaller quantity.

To be SOLD,

A GOOD brick dwelling-house, three stories high, situate in Market-street, near the Court-house, in York-Town, lately occupied by Major-General Mifflin. There are four well finished rooms on each floor, a kitchen, stable and garden. For terms apply to GEORGE HENRY, near the Valley Forge, or JOSEPH DONALDSON, in York-Town. ¶

To be SOLD,

A PLANTATION, five miles from York-Town, on the Baltimore road, late the Dun Horse tavern, in the possession of John Bushong; on the premises are a good two story log house, four rooms on a floor, with handsome sash windows, a good stone kitchen, a large barn, with stabling for 20 horses; also two small houses, with stables; about 300 acres of land, 100 cleared, 35 acres of cleared meadow, 30 acres more of well watered meadow may easily be made, two orchards, containing about 300 apple-trees in good order; there is likewise an extraordinary good mill-seat on the spot. The situation is remarkably pleasant, would be an eligible spot for a gentleman's seat, or would do exceedingly well for a tavern. Enquire on the premises.

Also to be sold standing, 9 acres of extraordinary rye.

EIGHT DOLLARS Reward.

STRAYED away from the subscriber, living in Tyrone township, York county, the 20th of May last; A small Black HORSE, six years old, 13 or 14 hands high, paces and trots, branded on the near shoulder thus O, has had the fistula. Whoever takes up and delivers said horse to Hans Morrison in Hunterstown, or the subscriber, shall have the above reward, and reasonable charges, paid by ¶ THOMAS PLUNKET.

CAME to the plantation of the subscriber, in Manallan township, York county, about the 20th of last March, a dark bay HORSE, six or seven years old, about 15¼ hands high, trots and paces, branded on the near shoulder L M, or something like it, [illegible] and [illegible] ¶ WILLIAM [illegible]

Friday, the 26th in-

[illegible] JOSEPH JEFFERIS

TAKEN up at Wright's Ferry, the beginning of May, a large bay brindled COW, about [illegible] years old, marked on one ear. The owner is desired to come to the subscriber, living near said ferry, prove property, pay charges and take her away.

DANIEL NEA

York-Town, June 15, 1778.

ALL persons indebted to the estate of Christopher Haller, deceased, are desired to pay the same within six weeks from the date hereof; and those who have any demands against said estate are requested to bring in their accounts, within the same time, that they may be adjusted by JOHN HECKENDORN, and JACOB ROTHROCK, } Executors.

Lately imported from France and St. Eustatia, and to be sold, wholesale, by

MARGARET DUNCAN,

In York-Town, next door to State's new Tavern,

A LARGE and neat assortment of Merchandize, among which are the following articles, viz. superfine hollands, britannias, linens of different kinds, assortment of cambricks and lawns, superfine and second broadcloths of different colours, variety of fine camblets, cottons, linens, saggathies, stripes, checks, dimities, drillings, sewing silks, Barcelona handkerchiefs, coloured and white sewing threads, calicoes, cotton and thread stockings, trimmings of different kinds, pins, coffee by the bag, &c. &c. ¶

York Town, June 1, 1778.

TWENTY DOLLARS REWARD.

STRAYED from the continental pasture, about a mile from town, a blooded bay HORSE, with the mark of a bayonet on his near shoulder, about 14 and a half hands high, trots and gallops well. Whoever finds said horse and will deliver him to the subscriber in York, shall have the above reward, and reasonable charges, paid by WILLIAM NICHOLLS, A. D. C. G.

Virginia, May 28, 1778.

THE partnership of THORNTON and Co. of the town of Fredericksburg, being dissolved, the Lots and Buildings belonging to the Company, which are situate upon the river at the lower end of the said town, will be sold on Wednesday the 15th of July, on the premises. There is a brew-house, malt-house and cellars, built of stone and brick, sufficient to manufacture six thousand bushels within the year, and all in good repair and condition for carrying on the brewing business, the whole being built within a few years past; the copper large enough to boil about 800 gallons. Adjoining the brewery, and on the same lots is a tan-yard compleat, and sufficient to manufacture 1000 hides. The stock and utensils belonging to both branches of business will be sold at the same time; also a negroe collier, cooper and house wench. Opposite these lots upon the hill, and divided only by the street, are two lots paled in, with kitchen and stable thereon, lately built, as pleasantly situated as any in the town, and fronting upon the main street. A more particular description will be unnecessary; those inclinable to purchase will take the trouble to view the works and situation, which will be shewn by Mr. Thornton, on the premises, and every necessary information given. Twelve months credit will be allowed the purchasers, upon bond and security given to

George Thornton,
William Woodford,
Joseph Jones.

¶

THREE HUNDRED DOLLARS REWARD.

RAN AWAY from Dorsey's Forge, the five following servants, viz. *William James*, a Welchman, aged 27 years of age, 5 feet 8 inches high, of a dark complexion, dark hair and beard, mixed with grey; has a blemish in one of his eyes, and squints. *Evan Powell*, a Welchman, and speaks in that dialect, aged 27 years, 5 feet 10 inches high, a lusty well made fellow, of a fair complexion, light hair and hazel eyes; had on a country linen hunting shirt and trowsers, new shoes, and a half worn felt hat. They listed in Col. Hart's regiment, from whence they [illegible] *Thomas Bulfrey*, an Englishman, 28 years of age, [illegible] or 7 inches high, pitted with the small pox, has short hair and sandy beard, dark eyes, thick lips, and slow of speech. *James Foster*, an Englishman, aged 20 years, [illegible] inches high, has dark hair, which he generally wears clubbed, smooth faced, dark eyes, and has a blue speck under one of them; he is a lively talkative lad, by trade a nailer. *William Reece*, 25 years of age, 5 feet eight inches high, of a fair complexion, has dark curled hair, dark eyes, and is a complaisant fellow. Whoever takes up the said servants, and secures them so that they may be had again, shall have the above reward, or *Sixty Dollars* for each. ¶ ELAM BAILEY.

Alexandria, May 24, 1778.

RUN away, last Sunday night, from the subscriber, two well made likely Negroe men, one named Tom, the other Dick. Tom is about 30 years old, has lost two of his upper teeth, and has several [illegible] marks on his arm and shoulder. Dick is a short thick fellow, about [illegible] years old, has several scars [illegible] and speaks very little English. Had on when they went away, [illegible] shirts and check trowsers, a large [illegible] and blankets. Whoever takes up the said [illegible] to me in Alexandria, [illegible] Thirty Dollars reward for each, and [illegible] paid by [illegible]

[illegible] is requested they may be [illegible], as they have been [illegible] before.

[illegible] TOWN: [illegible] by HALL and SELLERS.